

619 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan.
 682 It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasised a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.⁽¹⁾ A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the *thia* - a
 766 stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no *thia*. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the *thia* and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *teru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

619 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan (*dho-ot*),
 614 has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the name of the clan or larger lineage *ma* and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans maximal lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

836 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognised form of love-making called *codo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less approved type of marriage (*por*) may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form (*meko*) when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.⁽²⁾

582 A man is forbidden to marry a woman who is a *wat*, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No. VII, p. 4.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 7.

582 the JoOwila of Uyoma; and is not approved, though sometimes permitted,
 613 even between such fraternal clans as the dominant clans of Karacuonyo,
 614 Kisumu, Kadem, Karungu, and Kabwoc. The young men are rebelling
 against the prohibition. Likewise I was told that though the JokOwila
 marry into the fraternal clan of Omia (Asembo) it is thought that such
 marriage may not be very fruitful.

613 Nevertheless in those big clans within which marriage is prohibited
 614 or where it is not approved between fraternal clans the custom of *codo*
 836 is permitted. *Codo* is a socially recognized love-making in which the youths
 [833] court the girls and bring them to the *simba* or bachelor's hut and sleep
 with them there and have relations with them *intra crura*. Thus the Ka-
 Abudha and KoOkelo lineages of the JoOwila clan of Uyoma may *codo*
 between them, a practice said to date from two generations ago; likewise
 the KaGumba and KaDepir lineages of the KaNyikal clan of Seme,
 though in their case it is said from the last generation only; likewise the
 JokOwidi and JokOgol of the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo. In these
 instances were a girl to be made pregnant her lover could not marry her.

613 When two lineages of the same clan are becoming widely separated
 614 and are beginning to *codo* between them it is done at first with discre-
 836 tion, because the older men are opposed to the innovation, then in open
 582 affairs in the bachelors' hut. Finally marriage is envisaged and perhaps
 eventually permitted, in the first place the less approved form of marriage
 by abduction (*por*) and then the ordinary form (*meko*). When marriage
 begins to take place, and even more when it has the approval of the elders,
 it may be taken to be an indication of political fission, for it was found
 among the Luo, as among the Nuer, that political values are stated in
 the language of kinship and that the politico-territorial system is reflected
 in the lineage system.

582 A man may not marry a *nyakwo*, sister's daughter, in the classificatory
 613 sense if her mother was a member of his maximal lineage but he can marry
 614 her if her mother belonged to a collateral maximal lineage of his clan,
 184 though even then the elders do not always approve. The general principle
 of exogamy is that a man must not marry any woman whom he regards
 as a *wat*, a cognatic relative, and Luo reckon kinship as widely as to ex-
 clude a man from marrying into his maternal grandmother's clan and
 his maternal great grandmother's maximal lineage, though it must be
 said that there is often disagreement, especially between men of different
 generations about the permissibility of marriage between distantly
 related persons, that is to say, about borderline cases. In spite of some
 divergence of opinion however it may be stated that for the Luo, people
 are either *wat*, kinsfolk, or *wasigu*, enemies. A man cannot marry kin
 and therefore must marry an 'enemy'. Hence when marriage is allowed
 between two groups it means that there is no kinship between them or
 that kinship is no longer recognized between them for purpose of exogamy
 and this, as said above, is an indication of political opposition, so that one
 often hears Luo say of a neighbouring tribe, e.g. a Karacuonyo man of
 the Kocia tribe, 'They are enemies, we marry them'. In other words
 adjacent tribes are structurally opposed segments in the tribal system

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MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE LUO OF KENYA

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

114 THIS paper forms part of a short general account of the Luo based on a rapid survey made in 1936. The survey was financed by the Leverhulme Grants Committee. An earlier part, describing the political structure of the Luo, has recently appeared in another journal.¹

Apart from information provided by Father Hartmann² and a fuller account by Mr. K. C. Shaw,³ early accounts of Luo marriage are slight, and in some cases misleading. Mr. Shaw's account covers a good part of the ground covered by the present paper, but it is useful to have two independent accounts, especially as both were written from information obtained through interpreters. When I went to Kenya I did not expect to visit the Luo and I had not therefore read Mr. Shaw's article. Mr. Shaw and I disagree in a number of particulars in the overlapping parts of our papers. It does not follow from this that either of us is wrong in our statements because, as Mr. Shaw points out, there is some variation in local custom in the different tribes of Luoland. My own information on this particular subject was mostly obtained from the Alego tribe of Central Kavirondo. In the main I have followed the account given me by Pastor Ezekiel of that tribe. In doing so I have omitted much detail.

Simba

836 Courtship and marriage are intimately connected with the custom of making love
882 to girls (*code*) in the *simba* or bachelors' dormitory, the hut nearest to the entrance to a Luo homestead. Youths arrange with girls to visit them there at night, and when a youth is visited by one of his sweethearts the other young men of the home sleep elsewhere. He plays with the girl and has intercourse between her thighs and they sleep together. He must not penetrate her—that is regarded as shameful, and it will be known on the day of her marriage. If a girl comes from a distance to visit her lover she may spend several nights with him in the *simba*. A girl may have several lovers in different homesteads whom she visits from time to time; she pleases herself in these matters. The young men will not quarrel about her, nor will her father and brothers interfere in her love affairs. She may continue the practice throughout the stages of her marriage to another man right up to the *riso*, the final ceremony of marriage. I was told that a girl does not usually visit the *simba* more often than once or twice
[533] a month. Occasionally the lover employs a harpist to entertain the girl and his friends on one of her visits, and there is singing and dancing. Between the songs youths, and sometimes girls also, stand up and boast of their virtues, of the number of their friends and sweethearts, of their wealth, and of their families and lineages; and when they have finished they throw a gift to the harpist, maybe to-day a shilling. Other youths then try to outdo them in boasts and generosity.

¹ E. E. Evans-Pritchard, 'Luo Tribes and Clans', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949.

² H. Hartmann, 'Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo',

Anthropos, 1928.

³ K. C. Shaw, 'Some Preliminary Notes on Luo Marriage Customs', *J.E.A. & U.N.H.S.*, 1932.

and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

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Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

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Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

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Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

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There are no restrictions as to the number of women a man may marry nor as to the number of his wife's sisters whom he may take to wife. Previous to her marriage a young woman may have as many lovers as she wishes, she is only careful to avoid incestuous connections. The unmarried women have their own quarters in a village and the young men theirs, and they seldom have any further intercourse than that of brothers and sisters; the young men, however, from another village pay visits to the young women during the day and make love to them, and in the evening the women return the men's visit and have sexual relations with them, while other young people sing songs of an obscene character and dance outside the house. Such intercourse is not stopped nor discountenanced by the elder people, as it is a recognised custom. Should any children be born from such relations, no punishment ensues nor are the couple blamed. When a father considers his son old enough to marry, he chooses a woman to be his wife. He then takes a cow and a goat to the parents of the young woman and arranges with them the amount to be paid for the marriage-fee. If the parents consent to the match, when an instalment of the fee has been paid, the bride is conducted by her friends to the home of the young man and lives with him as his wife for ten days: during this time there is daily singing and dancing outside the house where the bride and bridegroom reside, and they take part in the dances. At the end of ten days the bridegroom's parents give a feast to all those who have gathered, and after the feast the friends of the bride escort her back to her parents, who in turn give a feast to the people that accompany their daughter. The bride remains with her parents until her husband is able to obtain and pay the full sum asked for as the marriage-fee. During this time, while the bride is waiting for her husband to bring the marriage-fee, there is no obligation upon her to live a chaste life, and she is free to have as many lovers as before. When, however, the fee has been paid and the bride claimed, she ceases to live a loose life and becomes most chaste. The husband builds his house, either in or near his father's village, and his wife is brought thither. When a man marries

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storm of rain broke over the valley, and next morning the complainants were back again to point out that his refusal to come in at the Bwana's summons had so frightened the rain-maker that he had sent rain next day, and to offer most hearty thanks for the white man's beneficent interference. 789

Though the Jaluo have good manners on the whole, some of their customs are decidedly the reverse of civilised. In common with the other Nilotic tribes of British East Africa, they draw blood from the living cattle and drink it. The custom, however, has its justification, for in many parts of Kavirondo this is the only method by which the natives can obtain salt. Also the older men are confirmed drunkards and hemp smokers, which causes them to age very quickly and probably shortens the average term of life. 272 273 276

Those who dwell on the shores of the great lake and of the larger rivers are expert fishermen: they catch fish with rod and line, a sunken trawl line, in weirs, by woven grass substitutes for nets, and by spearing them with four-pronged wooden spears which they throw with extraordinary accuracy. They are also keen huntsmen, though of little use out shooting, and possess highly trained dogs which will run down an oribi or hare or find a wounded guinea fowl knocked down by their throwing sticks. 226 224 231

In character they are naturally very honest, except with regard to cattle, a temptation which no East African can withstand. They are extremely jealous of any relations between their women and men of other tribes, nations or colour; but among themselves an unmarried woman who has reached the age of puberty may have as many friends, as they call them, as she likes, provided that they come from another clan; after marriage she must confine her attentions to her husband. 181 836 ●

Perhaps their most pleasant trait is their love of fun and laughter: the feeblest joke or the slightest bit of horse-play will set them in roars of laughter. For hospitality and industry they have a well-earned name; they are, in fact, in every way most amenable when treated with a little kindness and consideration. They have a considerable knowledge of blacksmith's work, though the spears which they turn out cannot be compared with those of the Masai for fine work. With the latter tribe, however, they show a well-developed artistic sense, the designs on their shields being generally handsome and well carried out. They are also very fond of music—of a kind: they play upon an eight-stringed harp, which is mainly used to provide an accompaniment to their extempore songs, composed in the heroic or comic vein. [326] [533 534]

Speaking generally and comparatively they are a peaceful, non-aggressive folk, though the common impression that they are cowards is ridiculously wrong: in the writer's small experience of African tribes they have shown themselves better fighters than the much-lauded Swahili, and better policemen than the dreaded Masai; they are certainly more amenable to discipline and less inclined to prefer their own wisdom to that of their officers.

On the other hand they are most painfully litigious: civil cases which arose in Vol. XXXVII. 691

THE FAMILY

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the herds and, by emulation of the age group next above them, slowly acquiring proficiency in the typical adult male pursuits, while the girls are drawn into the domestic tasks of the elementary family, food preparation and cooking, fetching water, and minding babies. 857

The young boys of a play group sleep together in the goat hut of a homestead when they no longer share their mother's hut at night. The girls sleep together in the hut of some widow of the group who is past childbearing age. This is the most important institution for the transmission of female culture. Girls only leave it at marriage, and till that time they are continuously trained in the adult roles expected of them. Boys at puberty build themselves bachelor huts (*Dholuo simba*) in which they sleep and where they also entertain their girl friends. A group of young men makes a formal assignation with a group of nubile girls from a segment of another maximal lineage into which marriage is possible, and visits and entertainments are held to and from the one lineage territory to the other. The two groups pair off with one another into sex partnerships which last till the groups break up and reform. A youth graduates out of this company of *simba* age-mates at marriage. 513 861 882 836

Authority over children rests jointly with the parents. That of the mother is likely to be the most effective in the early years, and she always holds a strong sanction in her manipulation and control of the food-supply. The father is ultimately responsible for the order of the family, and his discipline is stronger than the mother's as the children grow older. There is a relation of friendly intimacy between alternate generations. Children are on easy terms with their grandparents and will certainly use the latter's households as an escape from home discipline or as a more generous source of food if need or opportunity arises. Children are at no period encouraged to live away from home with other relatives, but parents allow them to circulate freely among a number of homesteads wherever they find the best welcome and the most plentiful food, among families which are usually both neighbours and close agnatic relatives. Brother and sister have no material reasons for conflict and there is a strong and lasting bond of affection and reliance between them, institutionalized in the symbolism of a number of ritual occasions, and linked to their important later relation to one another's children as mother's brother (*nera*) and father's sister (*waya*). Apart from parents, these are the only two consanguine relatives of the first ascending generation who are picked out by special kinship terms. The newly married woman is under the authority of her mother-in-law, and a man's relation to his wife's parents is marked by deep respect and avoidances. Ritual practices as well as personal attitudes emphasize the importance of fertility and virility,¹ and the value attached by a man to a numerous offspring and the ability of his wives to provide it. The Luo are aware of the male and female parts in procreation, but say that 'the woman's blood goes for nothing'. This seems a necessary inference from the nature of lineage organization rather than vice versa, for they would not argue that there is any tendency for children to resemble the father rather than the mother, nor do they permit marriage with close consanguine kin though of an unrelated lineage. It is 543 603 574 858 593 [601] 606 842 [582]

¹ e.g. the special rites which have to be carried out for a nubile girl dying unmarried, a wife dying without children, a widow dying before remarriage, a man dying when one of his wives is still childless,

or a man dying before he has experienced sexual intercourse, the latter being treated similarly to a barren woman.

882 There is therefore frequent friction between some
593 mothers and daughters.

The father, while maintaining an interest of his own, does not exhibit his liking for his daughter so openly. The economic value of a girl to society is gauged by the extent to which a man may be excused his debts on the ground that after his daughter's marriage he will be able to pay them.

Allowances given to girls are not very generous despite the fact that daughters have a higher economic value than sons. There is a feeling that not much money should be lavished on someone who will not remain in the family to help the father in his old age. The main desire is to see the girl married, and it is a source of worry if she does not associate with men. The girl is also expected to be sociable towards neighbouring women, because if she is unpopular with them they might speak against her in the presence of her suitor or his relatives.

At this time disciplinary control by the parents slackens, since in order to contact men the girl requires a certain amount of freedom. Disciplinary measures may be exercised only in the event of misconduct, such as running away with a young man without notice to parents or having relations which are morally prejudicial to the community life. The mother, however, loses her dominating influence during the school age and the task of disciplining the older girl becomes the duty of the father or her older brothers.

THE SEXUAL LIFE AND ATTITUDE OF ADOLESCENTS

836 The sexual life of the adolescent is conditioned by the
883 prevailing social conventions on the nature of sexual relationship between males and females. Thus, though it may appear on the surface that Luo society makes no allowance for unrestricted sexual contact, in fact a

ADOLESCENCE

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difficult burden is imposed on the girls, who have to endure considerable inhibition to avoid social censure. On the other hand, boys enjoy much greater freedom. It would appear that this relatively stronger censure of a girl's conduct derives its strength from the anatomical evidence a woman is required to show on her day of marriage to prove her chastity. In this way it appears to be the duty of society to make sure that girls live up to the moral standards which ensure them a successful marriage. Therefore, whilst considerable intermingling is accorded to both sexes, relationships resulting in pregnancies and prostitution are discouraged. And, as has been seen, the social stigma attached to such relationships and their results comes down most heavily on the woman.

In view of the difficulties involved, the girl therefore adopts a compromise. She uses her wit as a defensive means of enabling her to enjoy the companionship of men and at the same time to help her to avoid being overcome by their reasoning. In this way, an adolescent girl who is clever at conversation is admired and considered entertaining by those men with whom she comes into contact.

When there are meetings between young girls and men there is accordingly a great deal of artful conversation. Girls consider men to be full of tricks designed to trap them. Mothers also warn their growing daughters to be careful of their conduct when with the opposite sex, explaining particularly that men are not to be played with to an extent where the matter becomes serious.

When girls go about together in a group they reproach any of their number who give in to men easily. On these occasions group morality is far stronger than among those who are more individual in their attitudes.

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tional society had a more deliberate or conscious sex education than they receive in modern times. Instruction on the nature of sexual relationship was formerly given by an old woman of the village, whose hut served as a communal sleeping place for the girls. This old woman was one who must have stopped giving birth to children. She was either a grandmother or an elder wife in a polygamous homestead. The communal sleeping places are still a feature of the girls' environment, but many of the modern huts have no experienced woman in them; hence the girls have lost their former source of instruction on both the marital and the following day-to-day relationships. [513]

The change from the traditional type of sex education has forced girls approaching marriage to seek information elsewhere. At present they usually make enquiries of experienced married women living in their neighbourhood. Beyond a few cautious warnings, mothers are rarely known to take part in the sex education of their daughters while fathers are completely detached from this field of enquiry. [593]

Sex activities in the communal sleeping places. Talks on sex are not the only activities engaged in by adolescent girls in their sleeping places. In some areas they also receive nocturnal visits from young men who have failed to find suitable opportunities to meet them during the day. This is not a widely spread practice, however, which may be due partly to the strict morality imposed by Christian moral conventions. [177]

Sometimes the girls themselves make arrangements to welcome these visitors by night, remaining awake in order to open the door for the men with whom they have made the appointment. Sometimes this form of visit is also carried out by young men without the girls' consent, but if they are discovered, a great outcry is

- 883 raised against such raiders. It is considered a disgrace to
 836 be discovered as an accomplice in raids on the girls' sleeping quarters.

ON ATTAINING MATURITY

- 881 The attainment of maturity among girls is marked by
 178 the first onset of menstruation. In the past this was kept very secret until several periods had been experienced, and even now its first occurrence is kept secret. Formerly, early preparations were made for it by instructing the girls about the physical changes involved.

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 [582] The information regarding this important physiological happening used to be given by the old woman in whose hut the girls slept. At present the information is obtained largely from experienced women with whom the girls associate. In the past there was no initiation ceremony to celebrate the event, and today the position remains the same. Although the betrothal of a girl could take place as early as ten, the social attitude was and still is that girls should not be handed over to their husbands before attaining maturity. Even when the mutual handing over took place before this age, the girl was obliged to live in the home of some older woman until the advent of menstruation. It is still believed that premature marriage results in great weakness to the girl.

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 [732] *The social position of a girl on reaching maturity.* The social position of the newly-mature girl is vague and uncertain. Any abnormality of mind, character or body, is a source of anxiety to her family. Moreover, as most
 [582] girls marry between sixteen and eighteen, there is a tendency for ill-wishers to over-state the ages of girls above that limit, because the attitude of society towards them is similar to that adopted towards overdue goods. Those who fail to marry at an early age thus become subjects of scorn. So strong is the pressure exerted by

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this attitude that unmarried girls, as they grow older, are often forced to marry in the end by taking advantage of the institution of polygamy, which acts as a final method of absorption. Although she may live to an advanced age, a single girl is continually tormented by the fact that society does not approve of unmarried girls. 589 595

Restrictions. Traditionally, a mature girl is not allowed to enter her father's or her mother's sleeping place, especially if the mother is still giving birth to children. This restriction, although generally ignored by Christians, applies also to the wives of her uncles. Those who are her parents or parents by marriage do not go where a girl receives her male visitors. By custom this hut was built beyond view of the parents' huts and served as a sleeping place for boys. It is considered that a girl who has commenced associating with men should not enter her mother's or father's hut because she would interfere with their powers of reproduction. 594 513 882 [177] [602] [842]

Relationship with brothers. The fear of incest has led to the practice of keeping young women's activities as separate as possible from those of their brothers, but free association and conversation concerning their mutual interests generally takes place, since brothers and sisters retain an interest in each others' love affairs. From his sisters, a young man may be informed of things he wishes to know about his girl friend. 593 835

Pre-marital pregnancy. Cases of pre-marital pregnancy were very rare in the past, according to most of my informants. But this rarity was not due to the fact that sexual relationships were prohibited. Pregnancy among mature girls was apparently not infrequent from any strict moral code, but from the conscious effort of the girls themselves to guard against it. Because much importance was attached to virginity, it was a matter of personal pride and was carefully guarded. It was a great honour and a 836 848 [585] [554]

848 source of much social rejoicing to discover that a
 836 married woman had been found to be a virgin. Such a
 585 bride was given a high prestige among the other women.
 554 In the past, if a woman gave birth to an illegitimate
 595 child, her only chance of marriage was to an old man
 583 with a number of wives. There was no possibility of
 occupying the position of chief wife of the family; and
 the heads of cattle paid were much fewer. The child was
 taken by the man who legally married her, but she was
 not allowed to give birth in her own home. Everything
 was done to get rid of her as soon as possible.

848 Examples of such pregnancies are very common at
 17.8 present. But although social disapproval is still keenly
 684 felt, modern conditions have become more favourable
 to women in this situation, and an increasing number
 of them are being married to bachelors. Unlike some
 communities, no death punishment was ever given. If
 the occurrence takes place between close relatives the
 matter is kept secret; in the past, however, the couple
 could be exiled.

MODERN EDUCATION AND ADOLESCENT GIRLS

871 Progress in the education of adolescent girls is ham-
 883 pered because the Luo people do not appreciate its suit-
 562 ability to the environment of their women. To the
 178 majority, modern education is associated with clerical
 work and the many other jobs that men take up after a
 school career. The position of girls in this scheme is not
 clearly envisaged.

[582] The social importance attached to marriage is having
 to adapt itself to a prolonged school career and the
 raised age for marriage which this implies. An inability
 to appreciate schooling for girls is also based on a high
 esteem for the traditional education which it tends to
 interrupt and weaken.

583 to be seized; but even when the father has agreed to let his daughter go, the younger relations put up a fight, not in order to detain the girl, but to test the courage of the people taking her. This is also done to test the value attached to her as a future wife in her husband's community.

585 Among the majority of young women an unwilling-
152 ness to leave home is exhibited on the last day. This unwillingness, accompanied by violent outbursts of emotion, is partly caused by the break with her family and familiar environment that marriage involves. Sometimes the emotional outbursts reach undue proportion, rendering the young woman a thorough misfit in her new home. Screaming is common even among those who are secretly pleased with the situation.

To a person unused to this sight it would appear to be an act of violence and injustice. But though some of the women may be sincerely upset, a large number of them look back on the incident with great satisfaction and confess that they screamed because it was customary to do so. This is made even clearer by their reactions when they are later present at similar incidents. Amidst great laughter they say comforting words to the girl being dragged, assuring her that she will meet with excellent treatment.

585 *The traditional ceremonies.* The news that a particular girl has been caught is followed by the organization of a
[836] group of young girls to follow after the bride. It is this group which brings back news to the parents as to whether the girl was a virgin. They remain at the bride's new home for one night and during this time young men were by tradition allowed to spend the night in the same hut with these girls.

The next ceremony takes place when the bride's parents slaughter an ox and send special parts of the